1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

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pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne.

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

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The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer.

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse.

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by M. E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938).

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Case 22. Sorcery: Post Oak Jim Repels a Curse
Informant: Post Oak Jim

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"I was fire-tender[7] in a peyote meeting. That medicine man was outside. He was in the prime of life; his power was strong. We were inside there singing and praying. Things were going along, when of a sudden I felt a stab in my back. It was as if somebody had shot me there. Oh! I thought I would die. I spit up blood. 'Now I am killed,' I thought. (With much hacking and uncomfortable grimacing Jim showed just how he felt.)

"Stumbling to my feet, I pushed my way through the door to the outside air. I fell flat in the grass; it was heavy with dew. I lay there breathing. So much blood came up that it made a big pool.

"I got up again and entered the tipi. They were all sitting there. I walked around the circle to my place and sat down. They asked me what was the matter. They saw me bleeding there.

" 'Oh,' I said to them, 'I am not feeling so well.'

"The leader gave me some orders. 'Fix up the fire! Now come over here, and sit by me. That medicine man out there is doing things to you.' The leader did some great things then. He picked a live coal from the fire—a red hot one. He put it in his mouth, like that. He came close to me. His mouth met mine. Four times he blew into my mouth. Uh! I felt better.

" 'Now,' he told me, 'you go outside and air your clothes to the four directions. South! West! North! East!'

"When I reentered, they sprinkled holy cedar on the fire. The leader brushed the smoke over me with his eagle feather fan. The blood had stopped. I felt better. I was well.

"The other medicine man died in the fall while he was feeding his horses."

In this particular case there probably was no contractual set-up involved, unless implicitly. The doctor was right at hand; he stepped in as we today expect any medical man to do in an emergency. Whether the peyote leader had any claim on Post Oak Jim for his services or whether Post Oak offered any recompense was unfortunately not determined.

Not always was counter-medicine so immediately successful: It happened more than once that the sorcery was so powerful that no other medicine man could turn it back. Here was a desperate situation. Was the victim to die helplessly? Not among the Comanches. A war-like people, with war-like notions backing up their law, they were not without further means. The treatment of Barking Buttocks reveals what could happen.

[276]

[7] The fire-tender is one of the four ritual offices in a peyote ceremony. The tender sits beside the door so he may easily bring in the wood. The other three sit opposite the door before the altar.

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

The Comanches

222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [262] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 439 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:*t*), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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this frame wet rawhide of deer or buffalo was stretched and sewed with green deer sinew. As the wet rawhide dried, it shrank on the frame snugly, making a tough and durable saddle. A small, soft bear skin or buffalo robe was used as a pad.[8] Women's saddles were deeper than those of the men, and the horns and cantles had longer horizontal projections decorated with fringes and brass-headed tacks and were painted red.

The stirrup was usually made of a single piece of green willow wood. On either side of the foot rest the wood was bent up and the ends brought together to form the sides and top of the stirrup. The ends were lashed in place with wet sinew, and then over this wooden frame green buffalo hide was stretched and sewed together with sinew. When riding without saddles, the Comanches sometimes used a pad, usually made of dressed buffalo hide.

Bridles or halters were made of plaited buffalo hair or strips of tanned buffalo hide. The hair bridle seems to have been the most common. No bits were used. A loop was formed just above the horse's nose, and the animal was guided by a pull on the rein or by pressure of the knees.

Pack saddles were constructed of two large, ovaloid pads made of two pieces of rawhide sewed together with a grass stuffing between them. These fitted against the two sides of the horse and were held together by two strips of wood which arched over the horse's back and also served as a base for lashing the load. The two pads came so far down and fitted so snugly against the sides of the beast of burden that no cinch was needed.

The Comanches, like most Indians, enjoyed a good smoke. Post Oak Jim thinks there was no smoking in the old days, and he is probably right. At least, a few centuries ago the Comanches had access to very little tobacco. This was changed after they had contact with Mexican traders. From them they obtained cured tobacco in large leaves, which they themselves cut into long strips and pounded to shreds and then added crushed sumac leaves. They smoked both cigarettes and pipes. Cigarettes were rolled in cottonwood leaves or leaves of catbriar or blackjack oak. Only in more recent times were cornhusks introduced.

[8] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 277, 296.

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called ɔ'*mɔɔɔy*. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white 324 soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the [462] hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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787 796 is remembered, but the feather wands and rattles used by the dancers were given to the girl, and then the dancers rushed to the creek to bathe. They dived into the water upstream four times. They then dressed in their best attire and returned to camp to partake of a feast prepared by the women.[20]

The Medicine Dance reported by J. Lee Humfreville was probably a slight variation of the Eagle Dance. Unfortunately Humfreville gave few details, but in those there are only two significant points of difference: the ceremony he witnessed began in the afternoon and ended late in the night, and the dancers carried their medicine bags during the ceremony.[21]

796 224 All attempts to piece together a definite picture of the Buffalo Hunting Dance have been almost futile thus far. One informant was of the opinion that it was the most important communal ceremony. Others were aware of its existence, but remembered none of its ritual or symbolism. Apparently it varied much in form and detail from tribe to tribe. It was rarely held, and only when the camp was in desperate need of buffalo for food or other necessities. It was a band or village affair, under the supervision of a shaman who possessed buffalo medicine. The dance was a prayer to the guardian spirit to direct the buffalo in plentiful numbers to their hunting grounds. Furthermore, the participants danced for power to be successful in the chase. Those going on the hunt could participate. Usually the dance was held in the main camp on the evening before the departure of the hunting party, but if buffalo were scarce, the hunting party sometimes danced after leaving camp. The dancers wore masks made of the whole skin of the buffalo head with the horns left attached.

276 796 Smoking was also associated with power, as has already been demonstrated in the accounts of curing; it was therefore a sacred and ceremonious act. It is true that the Comanches smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremoniously, it was an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker, or a prayer for power. In smoking for pleasure, they customarily used

[20] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish danced the Eagle Dance when he was a young man. On another occasion the ceremony was observed by the Reverend John Melville while visiting the Comanche chief, Talaquitnamse, in the Wichita Mountains. Melville's unsatisfactory account of the ceremony is related in Barnes, *op. cit.*, 55–57.

[21] Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 438.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe.

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round;

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276 796 on others, the smoker addressed one or more of the supernatural spirits in prayer; and at other times it appears that with the issuance of smoke the ceremony was finished and the group could enter into conversation. The smoker sought power: power to heal, to triumph over enemies, to become a better hunter, to gain more horses, or to live a long and useful life.

When the leader had completed his invocation, he passed the pipe to the person on his left, who repeated the same smoking ritual, and then on to the next until everyone had smoked. When the man sitting next to the door had smoked, he could not pass the pipe across the doorway; it must be handed back entirely around the circle (no one smoking) to the man on the opposite side of the door. The pipe was handled only according to prescribed ritual.

To refuse to smoke under certain situations was disrespectful and might be regarded as an insult or an offense. Likewise, it was disrespectful for an unqualified man to smoke ceremoniously. In some cases, no one might leave or enter the lodge during the smoking ceremony. No one was permitted to stand up or walk about the lodge. Sometimes smokers anointed themselves with the smoke. Medicine men anointed patients with it by passing their hands through sacred smoke and then rubbing the patient. It was strong medicine. The smokers gave special attention to pipe ashes, which were usually deposited according to prescribed ritual.[22]

796 The Sun Dance, which loomed so large in the lives of the tribes of longer standing in the plains, was not an established part of Comanche socio-religious activities. When it was introduced in the eighteen seventies, it was seized upon as a mechanism of Messianic revivalism—a story that will be presented in a later chapter. The peyote cult was also worked up in later days as an integrative device to replace the collapsing system of native supernaturalism. And that, too, will be treated later on, as a part of the problem of readjustment to new conditions imposed by the white conquest.

[177] The Green Corn Dance was a late cultural innovation borrowed from the Caddos and Wichitas. It was a thanksgiving ceremonial for

[22] This account of the smoking ritual is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas." *loc. cit.*, 126–27; Battey, *op. cit.*, 323–24; Parker, *op. cit.*, 59; C. and J. D. Smith. *op. cit.* 108; Lee, *op. cit.*, 146; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 411 apparently, no doubt that the Comanche were in frequent contact with tribes using the sinew-lined bow, and that the tribes most closely related to the Comanche habitually used such bows.

Arrow shafts were made from straight stems of the rough-leaved dogwood (*Cornus asperifolia*). This species was also the preferred arrow material of the tribes of the Missouri River region (7, p. 108). Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the arrows of the Comanche as being "twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular point of iron at one end, and two feathers intersecting each other at right-angles, at the opposite extremity." They do not specify the material used for arrows further than by saying that it was "flexible wood." Arrows for the *aratsi* game were made from the stems of [624] the soapberry (*Sapindus Drummondii*). Wood for game sticks was obtained from the buttonbush (*Cephalanthus occidentalis*).

824 ● 276 The leaves of the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*) were mixed with tobacco. The addition of other plant materials to tobacco was a common practice among many tribes of Indians, the leaves of smooth sumac being widely used in this way. Chamberlain (6, p. 72) notes that this species was smoked by the Gosiute, and Gilmore (7, p. 100) cites its use by the Indians of the Upper Missouri, but neither writer mentions its being mixed with tobacco. McGuire (14, p. 385) gives Marcy and McClellan (16, p. 102) as his authorities for the following: "Captain Marcy refers to the Comanche being extravagantly fond of smoking tobacco, which they call pah-mo, mixed with the leaves of sumac (*Rhus trilobata*)." West (24, p. 107) accepts this without question and repeats it. In neither the 1853 (15) nor the 1854 (16) edition of Marcy and McClellan are we able, however, to find this complete statement. The passage on Comanche smoking in these volumes (15 and 16, p. 102) is as follows: "All of them [the Comanche] are extravagantly fond of tobacco, which they use for smoking, mixed with the dried leaves of the sumac, inhaling the smoke into their lungs and giving it out through the nostrils." Evidently the Comanche term for tobacco and the name of the particular species of sumac were taken by McGuire from some other source and not from Marcy and McClellan, as is implied. It may be true that *Rhus trilobata* was smoked by the Comanche, but *Rhus glabra* was specified by our informants as the species which was smoked, and medicinal uses only were ascribed to the former. We know of only one other reference to *Rhus trilobata* as a smoking material, that by

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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Grinnell (9, p. 180) for the Cheyenne, but *Rhus glabra* was commonly used by many tribes of Indians. The latter is the sumac, which Schultes (21, p. 138) mentions as used by the Kiowa. 824 276

The leaves of two plants were said to be employed as wrappings for cigarettes. One of these is the greenbrier (*Smilax bona-nox*), and the other the blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*). Our notes give no explicit occasions on which the leaves of the blackjack oak were made into cigarette wrappings, but this was doubtless done chiefly at peyote ceremonies based upon the religious use of the cactus. According to Schultes (21, p. 138), this use of blackjack oak leaves (given as *Quercus nigra*) in the peyote ceremony is a common practice. La Barre (12, p. 48) states that cornhusk cigarettes are standard in the Kiowa–Comanche peyote ceremony, but that the Comanche and the Shawnee sometimes employ the leaves of the blackjack oak. Opler (18, p. 28) mentions the rolling of tobacco in oak leaves (species not given) or in cornhusk in the peyote ceremony of the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache. 824 276 796

Mr. Carlson and the other members of the field party engaged in a Comanche peyote ceremony, but as this will be described in a later report and as a rather full account of the Kiowa–Comanche type of ceremony has recently appeared (12, pp. 43–53), we need give little attention to peyote here. Formerly the Comanche doubtless obtained their peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii*) while they were on expeditions into its native habitat in the Rio Grande region of Texas and southward, but more recently they have acquired it by trade and have even cultivated it. La Barre (12, p. 57) refers to an unpublished manuscript by Hoebel describing an early ritualistic Comanche expedition for peyote. Apparently the Comanche were also familiar with the mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora*), which has a native range roughly similar to that of peyote. La Barre (12, pp. 105–109, 126–127) summarizes the data concerning this narcotic plant, which seems at one time to have been the center of a prepeyote narcotic cult and whose use has been retained in connection with magic and ornament, particularly in association with the peyote ceremony. Participants in the peyote ceremony witnessed by our party had red beans, which were probably mescal beans (but may have been Erythrina), on the fringes of their leggings. Skinner (22, p. 261) describes Iowa leggings, ornamented with mescal beans, which he considered might be "of the modified Kiowa–Comanche

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
373 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scrupulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nineteenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also, the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians' rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara (who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio) Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápaiē'ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputised certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

/page 39 continued/

consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed. The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descriptions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could

/page 39 continued/

get. In the days before the first World War there were many special peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are instructive.

In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were concerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom. But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation. In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

/page 40 continued/

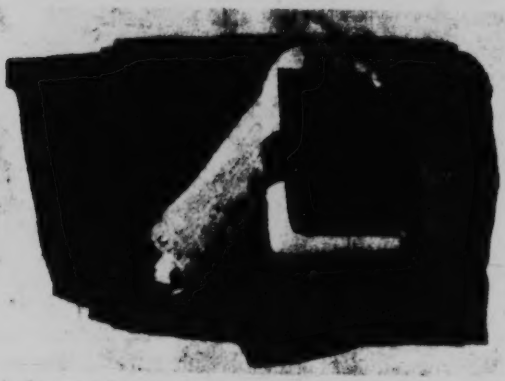
Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison-advisor. This approach ritual payment consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.
465 Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bokwinatsu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

775 When Sanapia has accepted the cigarettte and taken the required four
756 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
755 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 755 756 782 [276] then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were wrapped.

Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 821 823 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 755 756 782 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient, seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

[372] This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.

[824] 237 [778] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She sometimes affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

775 755 756 [823] As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient. If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is customarily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

of our store with a recessed double doorway at the front. Old Warrior and his woman would take possession of this setback, spread down the blanket they rode on, sit down and pretend they didn't see anyone passing or hear anyone who spoke to them.

Once they were seated comfortably in the setback, they would have a ritualistic smoke. Mrs. Warrior would produce a baking-powder can from the folds of her blanket, take out a dried and trimmed oak leaf, hand it to her husband, then hide the can. After wetting the leaf with his tongue, Old Warrior would rub the moisture into the leaf with his thumb and forefingers.

During the leaf-softening and limbering process, the wife brought out a sack of Bull Durham smoking tobacco. When Old Warrior decided the leaf was properly conditioned, he took the tobacco sack and carefully poured the proper amount into the curved leaf. Care was exercised not to spill a grain of the precious weed.

Rolling tobacco into a cured leaf for a smoke is an art, or at least an accomplishment. There probably never was a white boy in all Comanche land who didn't try it at least once. When the leaf was rolled, it was necessary to hold it in place with thumb and finger to keep it from unrolling again.

By the time Old Warrior finished preparing the smoke, his wife, having caused the Bull Durham sack to disappear, produced a match. This ceremonial consumed even more time than my telling. Everything was done in slow motion. Maybe slow rhythm is a truer description. The ritual continued after the leaf cigarette was lighted; the husband took a few puffs and handed the cigarette to his wife; the wife had her puffs and handed it back. This exchange continued until the cigarette was too short to hold. They made the smoke last a surprisingly long time, but they never smoked a second cigarette, regardless of how late they had to wait for their whiskey.

I saw the same ritual performed a number of times by other old couples, and I have seen old men smoke by themselves, but I have no recollection of ever seeing a Comanche woman smoke by herself or with other women. We often had as many as a dozen wives sitting in the back of the store, but none of them ever smoked.

I questioned frontier friends about the old people's smoking. They said the plains Indians never used tobacco like the white man. Tobacco to the older Comanches was never a solace or a dissipation;

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

to them tobacco was a gift from the great spirit. What I had witnessed could be considered in the nature of a prayer or communion—perhaps you could apply the word *sacrament* to it.

I made a number of plans to observe these incidents more thoroughly, but none materialized. One was to count the number of puffs each took from the cigarette, and another was to find out who furnished Old Warrior his whiskey. The trouble was that I could only watch Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior between the chores which needed to be done around the store. Late customers had to be waited upon; the team of little Spanish driving mules had to be hitched up for our trip to the claim, when we could finally close the store; occasionally there were letters to be mailed, so they would be sure to leave on the early morning mail hack for Lawton. These necessary duties made my watching a hit-and-miss activity.

Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior's ritual extended to the drinking of whiskey. The bottle was always kept out of sight. When Old Warrior had the bottle opened, Mrs. Warrior held up part of her blanket over one arm in front of her husband, hiding him while he had his drink. When it was Mrs. Warrior's turn, he held up his blanket to shield her.

After the bottle passed back and forth a few times, the old couple headed for home. But they never left the bottle, so I assumed they kept some for the road. Their departure would leave me with a number of things to wonder about.

I wondered if they would make it home safely, if the little mare was trained to wait in case they went to sleep and fell off. If the weather was inclement, I worried about the two elderly people catching cold. Also, I wondered what their three Carlisle-educated children, two sons and a daughter, thought of their parents' late hours.

The old people's confidence in the little chubby mare was not misplaced. They survived each trip. I imagine Old Warrior and his wife felt they had been very discreet while in town, and that none of the white people had the slightest idea they had purchased whiskey.

I once heard a story at a Comanche gathering that may explain the care Old Warrior and his wife exercised when on whiskey trips. An old fellow told of having the record books of the old Deyo Mission. They had been left with his father, Ho-var-ith-kh, for safekeeping.

After telling of the formation of the first congregation, he turned to me and said laughingly, "You knew Old Warrior? Well, one Old

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7
C
D
171
795
796
534
579

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NB13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NM6 ●
Delaware NM7
C
D
M1
M6
M6
●

Element	Occurrence																								
	Tem	Wi	Pa	Ow	Ut	Co	Ch	Ar	Sh	Ca	Ba	Ka	Ko	Ta	Ha	Ma	Ba	Ka	Ko	Ta	Ha	Ma	Ba	Ka	Ko
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	–	++	+	+	°(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	++	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

Comanche ND6 ●
Ctow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 109[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche NM6
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																				
	LT	K-A	Ka	Comm	Ka	Av 2	Du 1	Du 2	Wa	Mc	Co 1	Co 2	SRB	Un	Gos	Mi-P	Tm				
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	+				
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•(+)	(+)	−	+	+	+	+				
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−				
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+				
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•(+)	−	+	+				
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	+					
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+				
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		•+					
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−				
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	−				
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−				
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−				
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−				
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+			
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			
209. By woman	+	+						•−	−	+	+			+							

(Concluded on next page)

C
D
171
795
796
276
[782]

Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																				
	HT	K-A	Kl	Coll	Kl	Ash	Du	Du2	Wa	Ch	Cr	Cr	Cr	SEa	Du	Ow	Ow	W-P	Tm		
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		C	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	−•	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		W	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	191	
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		245	
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		796	
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		[271]	
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		[574]	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		[276]	
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		●	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+			
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+			+	+							
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+							
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+													
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+													
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+		+	+													
265a. (See note)																					